/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

171 The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
281 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

283 The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly. The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

325 Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The extraction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

[38 cont.]

Weapons

411 The Bushman's chief weapons are the bow and arrows. The bow staff as a rule has a round transverse incision and tapers off slightly toward both ends. The !Kung of the Otjimpolo Veld, on the other hand, use palm wood like the Ovambo. There the wood of the bow is slightly convex on the outside and flat on the inside with squared sides. The string is made of leather, so that in the case of these bows the bow staff is more flexible than the string. A bow of the Otjimpolo Bushmen was 115 centimeters long and 13 centimeters high. The bows of the !Kung discussed here also have leather supports on both sides and commonly are

[291]
[531]

Fig. 9. Embroidered Front Apron of Leather (!Kung).

reinforced with sisal cord. The bows of the Hei//om seem to be differentiated from those of the !Kung primarily in [39] that the bow staff is flat on the outside and convex on the inside. In lieu of the leather strips, reinforcements of palm bast are also often used. The string, depending on the region, is a waxed plant fiber cord, animal tendon (kudu), or fine, twisted leather. The length is about 120 centimeters; the height, 20 centimeters. There are also much smaller bows, however, 95-110 centimeters long.

[283]

192 411 The wood of the !Kung bows is called !howa. The arrow is made of wood. The shaft is called //gau; the feathering,

[77 cont.]

291 in the north, but they have far more ostrich egg pearls.
[301]

11. Weapons

The ≠Auin have the throwing lance; the digging stick is
411 occasionally also used for striking and as a throwing club. The
[439] lance points are bartered from Ngami Lake. The upper end of the shaft is bound with a strip of antelope skin or tendons. The shaft tapers off toward the end. The lance points are distinguished as male and female. The male points have blunt barbs. The points are often provided with a leather cap. The lance points also serve as a knife and universal instrument. The spear points are kept well hidden. Among the Naron, spears
411 439 are very rare today; they are obtained from Ovamboland in exchange for chains of ostrich egg beads. The same is true of the Nogau, who, however, obtain their spear points in part from the Ovambo and in part from the Okawango by way of the !Kung.

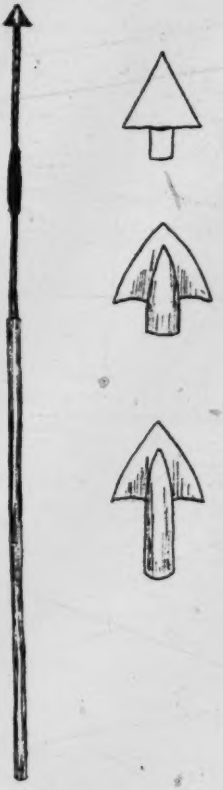

Fig. 27. Arrows of the Nogau.

The bow of the ≠Auin is small;
411 the string is twisted out of animal
[283] tendons and is pushed up on one side and fastened on the other. The arrows are made of reed. At the bottom of the shaft there is a shallow notch, and the end is wound with grass. Similarly, we find a notch at the upper end where the point is inserted. The length of the arrow shaft is from 48 to 52 centimeters. The points are made either of iron or bone; in the latter case ostrich bones are used. The bone arrowhead is pointed at both ends, one of which is inserted

411
283

Fig. 28. Bows of the Nogau. (1/3 actual size [as shown in original text]).

224

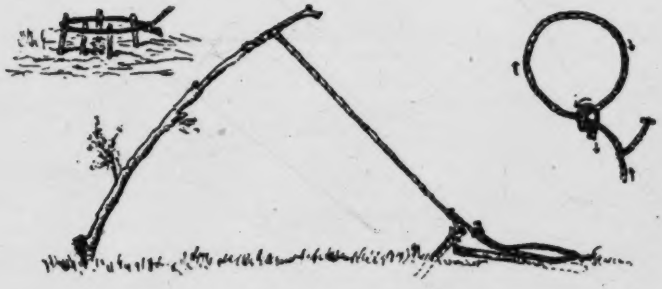

Fig. 29. Game Trap (from Gentz, Globus, Vol. 83, 1903).

/258 cont./

000 which is used for carrying game over the shoulder.

411 Still to be mentioned are the weapons of the Bushmen. These are limited essentially to the bow and arrow. The bow consists of firm, flexible wood which tapers toward the ends.

● [283] The bowstring is made by twisting together separated strands of gemsbok tendons.

The arrows have a very peculiar construction. The shaft is a piece of reed approximately 60 centimeters long, which is feathered at the lower end. A piece of eland bone, approximately 15 centimeters long, which has been sharpened to a point on both sides and carefully rounded by filing on stones, is inserted at the upper end of the shaft in such a manner that it can easily be taken out and reversed. The front end of the reed shaft, which is designed for the insertion of the bone arrowhead, /259/ is wrapped with bast in order to give it the necessary resistance. The two ends of the arrowhead are treated differently. The shorter and blunter tip is left free of poison and serves solely for hunting purposes. The 278 longer and more pointed end is covered with a brown, resin-like poisonous mass. It is very difficult to obtain any definite information from the Bushmen concerning the origin of this poison. They shyly evade questions about it.

I was able to ascertain only one fact, namely, that it is obtained by making incisions in the bark of a tree called chi (Herero: otjindombo). The arrowhead is dipped in the sap of the bark and 411 heated over the fire.

In addition to the bow and arrow, one also finds simple, unworked kirris, and -- at least among the Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld -- throwing spears with iron points that are obtained from the Ovambo in trade.

Arrow shafts and arrowheads are carried on the back in separate leather quivers.

They also use simple, feathered wooden arrows with pointed ends for fowl.

The dwellings are as simple as the whole way of life of the 342 Bushmen. The huts are only a little taller than a man and about three meters in diameter; they are set up by embedding sticks in the ground. These poles, which form the framework, are joined in the center, making a dome shape, and the interstices

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

older leaves are marked at the base on the lower surface with narrow wavy black bands. Specimens were collected in sandy soil in open parkland near Nama Pan and flowered in Pretoria the following summer. The leaves and inflorescences, like those of the edible species, die back during the winter. 137x

Neither of the two species could be named in the National Herbarium, for the genus is not well documented and badly in need of revision.

Sansevieria scabrifolia Dinter (4951) Photograph 7.

!h5: Bushman.....	ǀxa-ji
ǁganakwe Bushman...	!gwi:
ǀgikwe Bushman.....	!gwi:
Naron Bushman.....	!gwi:
Eastern !khū Bushman	!hwi:

A stemless plant with bunches of stiff, erect, strap-like leaves 10 inches long and a little less than an inch wide, concave on the front or upper surface and rounded on the back, and without a midrib. They rise at intervals of a foot or so, and in tufts of up to a dozen, from a brown-skinned horizontal rhizome three inches below the ground, and are light green mottled with dark green. They are tough and fibrous rather than succulent, which is the term that has been used to describe the leaves of closely allied species. The plants may occur singly but are more often massed in communities 20 to 50 yards across. Those sent to Pretoria for growing have never thrived and never flowered, nor were they seen flowering in the field, but it is known that the inflorescence is spike-like along a 12-inch flowering stalk, and that it consists of crowded usually off-white flowers half an inch across. Flowering seems to occur rather rarely and sporadically in the genus as a whole.

This species was widespread and fairly frequent north and south of Ghanzi. It was not found in the open grassland but always among trees and scrub, though not necessarily shaded by them.

The rhizome is a useful source of water. It has a crisp, white fibrous flesh which is juicy and, although slightly bitter, not unpleasant. There are several species of Sansevieria growing in cultivation in Pretoria all alike in habit, and all have been tested. There is no perceptible difference in the taste or juiciness of any of them. 312 824

The leaf fibres of the plant described are used by the Bushmen in making a string of surprisingly good quality. 283 824

Wallera nutans Kirk (5311) Photograph 8.

Eastern !khū Bushman tʃū

The plants are about six inches high, with a slender erect central stem bearing paired light green grass-like leaves, strongly keeled and somewhat fleshy and faintly crystalline on the surface. Both the stem and the keel of the leaves are sparsely covered with short soft spines. Three or four strongly scented nodding flowers are borne, superficially very like potato flowers. There is a firm round storage organ a few inches below the surface of the ground, slightly larger than a golf ball and the colour of a new potato. 137x

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

possessions of Bantus and Europeans—horses and cattle, dogs, melon lands, medicines, rifles, boots, and trucks—as well as their enormous size, heavy necks and arms, great beards, and roaring voices. Europeans are beyond the powers of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions, in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow. Bushmen consider the Europeans and the Bantus to be superior beings. Bantus and Europeans consider the Bushmen to be inferior beings, and, without resisting, a Bushman always bows to a European or a Bantu person's will.

Once an old man, a veld Bushman, told us the story of the reim and the grass fiber. A reim is a leather rope which the Bantus make by skinning a cow with a long, spiraling cut that goes around and around the body so that the hide comes off all in one piece a few inches wide and many yards long, which is then stretched and cured, making a piece of leather useful for harnessing oxen or building a hut.

"In the earliest days," the old man said, "the Bushmen and the non-Bushmen were all one nation, and the great god came to earth and gave them a rope. Half the rope was made of reim and half was made of grass fiber. The great god told all the people to pull on the rope, and the non-Bushmen came away with the reim, but the Bushmen got only the grass fiber. After that, the non-Bushmen had cattle and reims and all those things, but the Bushmen had only the things that are in the veld. If this ever happened again," the old man said, "I would tell the Bushmen to make sure they got the reim half."

So the distinction between people was caused by the great god, and the Bushmen, who want only to be left in peace, do not compete in issues which they cannot win. They are only frightened by other peoples and hope to be spared their atten-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

poison of several grubs, Gai dried the arrow by the fire, then coated the foreshaft again. In all, he used ten grubs, all that he had except two which were found to be shriveled and dead. The last coating he did not smear; pulling off the grub's head, he dotted the arrow with little spots of poison. He did not poison the arrowhead but only the foreshaft.

When the arrow was finished and the poison dried to lacquer on the shaft, Gai carefully collected all the cocoons and all the grub skins and burned them in the fire, keeping out of the smoke. He then called for a fresh tsama melon, which Witabe brought him and which he used to wash his hands. At last he put his arrow in his quiver and lit his pipe. He was through.

While we were there with the camera set up and loaded we asked Gai to demonstrate for us the way he would shoot a bow, which he did, and we were surprised to see that the Gikwe, who use bows of the same size and shape and arrows of the same size as the Kung's, have a different arrow release. The Kung grip the arrow between the thumb and the side of the forefinger as they draw back on the string, but Gai gripped it between the first two fingers, holding his thumb back. He said that all other Gikwe do the same.

Ukane called to us from the werf and said that since we were here he would show us how a Gikwe Bushman makes a string. We went over to him, and he did make a string for us by pulling the tough fibers out of aloes and rolling them together on his thigh, leaving just enough fiber unwound at the end to splice with the next rolled section. The string was so strong that when he jerked it between his hands it neither broke nor raveled. It took him only a few minutes to make it, and he said that when he had many such strings he would tie them together to make himself a net.

As he worked, for the sake of efficiency, he held the fibers

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

in a fold of his belly and held the finished end of the cord be- 283 ●
tween his toes. Then, as he finished a section, he would pull with his toe, moving the cord into a new position while with his hand he removed a new tuft of fibers from his belly. It was very efficient. The cord almost finished itself. It seemed to me then that this use of a belly fold might once have given someone the idea of a vice or clamp, or the pulling foot the idea of a pedal.

The day turned out to be a very eventful one. In the after- 136
noon someone discovered that a large snake had occupied a hole right next to our camp. We all went to see the track, and found it so fresh and so enormous that we shook the Bushmen from their afternoon naps to tell us what we had found. Ukwane came alone, saying that he would know as well as anyone, and after looking at the track for a moment and following it out into the veld a way, he returned to say that the snake was still in the hole.

From the size of the track, which was as wide as the rut of a cartwheel, we could see for ourselves that the snake was about fourteen feet long, and from the straightness of the track, from the fact that it had no parallel scratches on its sides which would mark it as the track of a python, Ukwane could tell that it was made by a mamba, the deadliest snake in all Africa, second-deadliest in all the world, a snake that can travel almost as fast as a horse can run and whose poison will kill an adult human being in ten minutes or so.

The snake had come only that morning, perhaps attracted by a colony of bushy little rats that lived around our camp, and induced to move by the warm sun, which must have set his great length in motion out on the veld somewhere.

The members of our expedition felt that something should be done, so while my father brought a shotgun, Ledimo, the interpreter, lit a fire near the hole, then lit gasoline-soaked

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together.

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow.

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder.

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed.

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters.

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend.

SINEWS

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//gwashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

HORN

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

SHELL

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

FEATHERS

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

WOOD

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//gwashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

FIBRES

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */nos* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

GRASS

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

342
585
516

A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

342
[283]

digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

372
[594]
[213]

The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

361

The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

621
[162]
101
[372]

361
221

The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

412
324

ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] → [278] ← [231] →

1. bow
2. arrow poison
3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[312] ← [177] → [412] → [283] → [177] ←

10. fire drill
11. flint and steel fire making kits
12. digging stick
13. iron knife
14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

Manufacturing and repairing tools include:

[298] [415] 17. poison-making kit; humeral cup, pestle, applicator

18. whet stones of basalt

[283] 19. wild cotton for polishing rope snares

These raw materials are also part of the man's kit:

[283] 1. sinew

2. twine of natural fibers

3. iron fencing wire

[278] 4. supply of poisonous grubs

[237] 5. bone chips for making arrow link shafts

[411] 6. grass stems for arrows

7. wood for bows, poles and spear shafts

224 411 The construction of the hunting arrow will illustrate the complexity of the weaponry. The arrow consists of a mainshaft about 13 inches in length made from the stem of the grass Phragmites communis (Story 1964:94). Into this is inserted a bone linkshaft about two inches long, carved from the humerus or femur of giraffe, kudu, or gemsbok. The linkshaft is joined to the metal arrowhead by a hollow section of grass stem one inch in length. The arrow head is commonly made from iron fencing wire. It consists of a stiff length of wire four to five inches long. The tip of the arrow is beaten into a small triangular blade one half inch from base to apex and five-sixteenths of an inch at the base.

[177]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

222 422 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only [423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 [883] [462] Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

411 The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons. The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood [824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The [283] [237] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or sometimes, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a [284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 53.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–3; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hanneimann," 94–6, 99–100.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Another method of trapping employed by the Bushmen of the Namib and of the North-West Cape was to poison the water in springs and so kill the game that came to drink there. The water was conducted a few yards from the spring into a specially-prepared pit, into which were thrown branches of the poisonous *Euphorbia*. The branches were kept down with stones, and the juice exuding from them rested like a scum on the water. The spring itself was fenced off or covered over, thus forcing the animals to drink from the pit. Zebras and other members of the equine species were especially susceptible to water poisoned in this way. Alexander states that near the River Keisu in South-West Africa he found the remains of no less than twenty horses lying close to such a poisoned waterhole.[1]

Traps proper as employed by the modern Bushmen are of two kinds. In one a stone or block of wood is placed in such a position that when the animal touches the exposed bait, the suspended weight falls down upon it. The other kind consists in snares (Plate XI), which are widespread among the Northern Bushmen, but do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern tribes. They are of various types, but the general principle is that a supple twig or sapling is bent down by means of a cord attached to a bait and ending in a noose. If the animal stirs the bait, the cord is released, the sapling springs back into the air, and the noose catches the throat or leg of the animal, which is carried up with it. In this way are caught not only birds and small quadrupeds, such as hares, wild cats, and jackals, but even small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, as well as leopards and ostriches. Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season; in the rainy season it must cease owing to the action of the damp on the cord. This is made from the bark fibre of *Sansevieria zeylanica*, which is shredded by means of a pointed stick, then rolled on the thigh into strands, which are twisted together. Thicker and thinner cords are made according to the game to be trapped.[2]

Fishing

This is also practised wherever possible by all the Bushmen; indeed, among the tribes living in the Okavango swamps it is even

[1] Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 223; Paterson, *Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots*, 169; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167. Moffat describes how on one occasion he nearly died as a result of drinking water poisoned in this way (*Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 155–6).

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 667; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 77; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 199 sq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 15.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom, which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water, and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones. The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.